

MOZAMBIQUE REVOLUTION

1972 - 1973
ON OFFENSIVE
ON ALL FRONTS



MOZAMBIQUE

REVOLUTION

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE MOZAMBIQUE LIBERATION FRONT
FRELIMO

JULY - SEPTEMBER, 1973

No. 56

DEPARTMENT OF INFORMATION
P.O. BOX 15274
DAR ES SALAAM TANZANIA

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EDITORIAL

A year of impressive advances

This year the Mozambican people can celebrate September 25th, the anniversary of the launching of the armed struggle in Mozambique, with even more pride of accomplishment and confidence in the future than ever before. For the past twelve months have witnessed particularly dramatic advances in our struggle to create a new Mozambique.

In a previous editorial we surveyed the recent developments in the international arena which have come to serve our cause so notably. These developments — providing as they do concrete evidence of recognition, support and assistance from abroad — are of vital importance, of course. Yet one important fact must not be overlooked: that such progress on the international plane springs from our own accomplishments closer to home. It is within Mozambique itself, and in the powerful efforts of the Mozambican people both to confront the colonial oppressor and to build new institutions, that the key to victory is to be found.

It is therefore worth highlighting our military advances, so striking as to have defeated the efforts of our enemies to downplay them. Indeed, the Southern Africa press is now studded with both news reports and dire warnings which testify to our success. Small wonder. The nature of our operations in the crucial province of Manica e Sofala, for example, is particularly difficult to ignore. Though the armed confrontation started there only on 25 July, 1972 and is still in its early stages, progress has been extremely rapid; our forces already cover the entire region up to Gorongoza and now range further south. Our actions take us closer to towns with sizeable white populations — and closer to those crucial lines of road and rail which link Rhodesia to the sea, at Beira.

But our progress in Manica e Sofala is not the only cause for the enemy's alarm; our military challenge in Cabo Delgado, Niassa and Tete provinces already well advanced towards complete liberation, has also intensified. Some specific engagements can be cited merely as significant examples of a much broader pattern of success. Such examples might range from last year's rocket assault on Mueda airstrip where 19 aircraft were destroyed to this June's telling attack on Chitima, command centre for the Portuguese forces who guard Cahora Bassa and only 14 kms. from the dam-site itself.

Moreover, such attacks are of a piece with numerous others — twice upon Tete town (near where, at Chingozi airbase, we destroyed 17 more aircraft), upon Fingoe, upon Furancungo, upon Nazombe and upon Mocimboa da Praia, these incidents clearly demonstrate our increased ability to carry the fighting directly to the enemy in his most fortified lairs. When taken together with other less dramatic but no less significant achievements in these areas — further consolidation of our position in the countryside, complete elimination of many of the enemy's smaller outposts, virtual control of his arteries of ground communication — the pattern of military advance is complete. And meanwhile the work of national reconstruction in the liberated areas of Cabo Delgado, Niassa and Tete also continues, the slow but certain accretion of schools, health facilities, units of production and distribution, and political institutions. Recent issues of 'Mozambique Revolution' have documented the progress realised in these spheres; certainly such accomplishments deserve a place of importance equal to that of the military advance in any summing-up of the past year's work.

It is not sufficient merely to chronicle such victories, however. We must also learn something from them relevant to shaping our future practice. We can do this best by identifying clearly what has made these successes possible.

There are some who would confine the answer to the technical sphere: a more sophisticated weapon here, a better organisational device there, these are seen to be the secrets of our advance. While not underestimating the importance of correctly adapting new techniques to the military task which confronts us, FRELIMO's own experience nonetheless suggests a rather different answer. For, ultimately, it has been our clear and correct political orientation which really has made these victories possible.

It might have been easy for us to fall into a crucial error here precisely because of the advanced nature of our struggle — the error of considering that stronger weapons and better techniques are basic to our continued success. But had we done so and neglected other tasks we would have risked cutting ourselves off from the real source of our strength — the people. Instead we have operated on the premise that it is the people, who, first and foremost, must be mobilised, cared for, protected and that, in the words of a recent communique from FRELIMO's Health Service "the cadres (must) cultivate love for the masses". Because ours is a people's struggle.

We have chosen to consolidate this line in our movement and actually to press even more vigorously our work of mobilisation and ideological education both of the people generally and of FRELIMO militants in particular. The best evidence of this effort is the series of conferences we have held during the past year, conferences involving those concerned with such sectors as health, education, production and women's affairs. Through these sessions we were able to ensure that day-to-day work hewed to the line we have just stated; at the same time, such conferences also enriched the line itself, forcing us to confront situations which helped make our formulations less abstract and more sensitive to the realities of life in the new Mozambique.

Here, then, is the key. It is to be found in an orientation which is truly popular, which transcends racism and chauvinism, which wins to our side all sectors of the population in Mozambique (peasants, workers, students) and people of all colours.

In this respect too, this year's experience in Manica e Sofala is most revealing. For here popular consciousness has been particularly high. In part this reflects the more direct and intensive oppression and exploitation by the Portuguese which people have experienced in this area. But in large measure it reflects the fact that the promise of FRELIMO is already widely understood far beyond the actual liberated areas. Our experience has been that parents bring their sons and daughters to join FRELIMO, they bring the weapons distributed by the Portuguese for their "defence" and they flee the imposition of strategic hamlets with courage and determination.

Before the beginning of the struggle in Manica e Sofala, a group of workers in the province sent a messenger to Tete to contact FRELIMO leaders. They criticised FRELIMO for only fighting in Tete and not extending the struggle to their province and they added: "If FRELIMO wants to liberate only Tete, then we shall all go to Tete to save ourselves". There could be no clearer demonstration of the popular basis of our struggle than this statement; not surprisingly, armed struggle could be launched in such an environment only shortly thereafter, with the subsequent pattern of cumulative success which we are seeing.

We do not intend to lose sight of this lesson. Of course we can scarcely afford to do so. Already South Africa and Rhodesia are contributing material aid, and even more ominously, fighting men to the Portuguese side in the struggle for our country. Others may join them. We have few illusions about the precise nature and difficulty of our task and we fully realise that international campaigns can be particularly important in disrupting the smooth functioning of such an Unholy Alliance in-the-making. But here, at home, we have also gone to the root of the matter. Ours must be a war waged with, by and for the people themselves. On that basis, and whatever the obstacles, we are advancing. And we are certain of our victory.

OFFENSIVE ON ALL FRONTS

A REVIEW
OF THE WAR
OVER THE
LAST 12 MONTHS



IN a leading article, the latest issue of the FRELIMO internal bulletin, «A Voz da Revolução», stresses mobilisation of the people as one of the fundamental tasks of FRELIMO's militants. «Our people must be mobilised, must be constantly told about the nature, objectives and methods of struggle, and the manoeuvres of the enemy. It was the people's mobilisation which enabled us to reach where we are today. It is the people's mobilisation which will enable us to win final victory.»



This watchword which has now been issued with special emphasis is not intended to rectify any possible weakness on our part in the field of mobilisation. On the contrary, it comes at a time of great political and military victories by FRELIMO, these victories having been precisely the result of the work done in mobilising the people. And it is because it is conscious of the vital role of this political work that FRELIMO is urging that it be continued and intensified.



In fact, in our struggle everything, absolutely everything depends on the people. The armed struggle, because the fighters come from the people, it is the people who carry war material to the front lines and it is the people who give information on enemy movements. Production, because although the fighters also have this as one of their tasks, what they grow is not enough, as combat is their main task. Their food, therefore, depends to a large extent on the support of the people. The education programme, as the attendance at our schools and the consequent training of cadres depends on the people's understanding of the need for education and its importance. Commerce, since it is the people who bring the produce which is traded. Security, because the people are in charge of detecting and arresting infiltrated agents..

The article in A Voz da Revolução con-

cludes: «We must not think that because the struggle is very advanced, the most important thing now is sophisticated weapons, technology. We must never think this way, never neglect the constant mobilisation of the people in our zones and in the zones into which we are advancing.»

Of course mobilisation has to be based on a certain ideological orientation, on a certain political line. And — as our experience teaches us — it is the extent to which this orientation is popular, the extent to which it is able to serve the people's interests, that determines the extent of the participation of the masses. The absolute popular and revolutionary nature of FRELIMO's political line and practice therefore explains the great successes we are achieving in rallying the whole people in the liberation struggle.

The successes of our people, of our movement, over the past year have been remarkable.

offensive on all fronts

Carrying out the watchword formulated by the President of FRELIMO on June 25, 1972, on the tenth anniversary of FRELIMO, and reiterated by the Central Committee in December — offensive on all fronts — our people and fighters have stepped up their efforts to consolidate the liberated regions and open new fronts.

In Cabo Delgado our action last year was aimed at dislodging the Portuguese troops from the few posts they still hold. In September 1972, a meeting of all the cadres in Cabo Delgado was held to redefine targets and draw up new plans of operation. These strategic plans stressed the complete destruction of communication links, and the systematic demolition of posts. In implementation of this plan, from August 1972 to August 1973 FRELIMO forces in Cabo Delgado launched 66 attacks against enemy posts; killed about 640 soldiers; destroyed 70 vehicles; sabotaged 10 bridges; shot down or destroyed on the ground 22 planes and helicopters, 19 of them in a single attack against the military headquarters of Mueda. Of particular importance were our attacks against Mueda, Nazombe and Mocimboa da Praia.

In addition, political and organisational work has been reinforced throughout the whole province to ensure the total mobili-

sation of the people in the armed struggle and in all national reconstruction activities. This work is being undertaken at all levels, starting with the smallest administrative unit — the circle. We have carried out a population census in the whole region north of the River Montepuez, comprising more than two-thirds of the whole province, in order to improve economic, educational and health planning.

CABO DELGADO

66 posts attacked including:

Namatil
Nangade
Sagal
Nangololo
Mueda
Chai
Nazombe
Inhancoma
Nantadola
Lussoma
Pundanhar
Nakatar
Mangamula
Komangano
Nachivalo
Mocimboa da Praia
Macomia
Quissenge
Ulumbi
Quinhetati
Ng'apa
Diaca
Abdala
Namrucia
Nambude
Licholo

Enemy soldiers killed : 640

Vehicles destroyed : 70

Aircraft destroyed : 22

Bridges destroyed : 10

thus reducing the destruction caused in the past by bombs and herbicides. At the same time, new techniques and diversified production have resulted in unprecedented levels of production. We have extended our network of trade centres. Our health activities, on the other hand, did not expand quite so extensively, owing to a lack of specialised cadres and medical supplies. Nevertheless, the health network was expanded by the opening of several new health centres.

In Tete the war was resumed in March 1968. With four years of experience in the other two provinces behind us, we were able to advance much more rapidly here. Thus in 1971 we already covered the whole province. Today most of Tete province is liberated and the enemy confined in their posts, where they are subject to constant attack. From August 1972 to June 1973, FRELIMO fighters in Tete shot down or destroyed on the ground 26 aircraft; attacked 50 posts, strategic hamlets and camps; sank 11 boats on the Zambezi river; destroyed 127 vehicles and killed over 1403 soldiers including a number of Rhodesians.

Among the centres attacked was the capital of the province, the town of Tete, which was the target of intensive bombardment by our artillery forces in November 1972. The military airfield and other military installations were severely damaged. Another major attack took place on June 18, 1973, against the military headquarters of Chitima. Chitima is the Portuguese defence base for the Cahora Bassa Dam. As a result of our attack, the officers' mess, the artillery positions, the power station and the airfield were destroyed or badly damaged.

Besides the heavy material and human losses suffered by the enemy, the attack on Chitima had a very serious psychological effect on the Portuguese troops and the technicians working at Cahora Bassa.

The Portuguese reaction to our attack did not help to lessen these fears. In an attempt to minimise the importance of our operation, the Portuguese High Command quibbled about the name of Chitima, (which according to them should be Estima) and on the distance between Chitima and Cahora Bassa (which — they announced — «is 16 kms and not 14 as FRELIMO pretends it is»).

But perhaps the best proof of our control over Tete is the fact that we were able to use this province as a bridgehead to open a new front in Manica e Sofala situated exactly in the centre of our country. The struggle in this province started on 25 July 1972 and is still at the early stage of ambushes, sabotage operations and attacks against small enemy camps. However, our advance has been extremely rapid, and our forces already cover all the region up to Gorongoza. Since July, we have attacked 17 camps, destroyed 110 vehicles and killed 450 enemy soldiers, and 5 aircraft.

the people's political consciousness

An extremely significant factor in this province is the very high level of political consciousness of the people. Perhaps this is because Manica e Sofala is a rich area with a relatively large Portuguese population, so that the people are subjected to more direct and intensive oppression and exploitation. The extent of their resistance to colonialism and their support for the liberation struggle is extremely high. For example, as soon as the struggle starts in a particular zone, parents bring their sons and daughters to the FRELIMO bases to be trained and enrolled in our armed forces. When we started military operations in this province, the enemy distributed arms to the people and ordered them to shoot the guerrillas on sight. In fact, however, the people immediately offered the weapons to our fighters. The people consistently resist being taken to the strategic hamlets. If taken, they run away to our zones at the first available opportunity. Before the struggle started in Manica e Sofala, a group of workers in the province sent a messenger to Tete to contact the FRELIMO leaders. They criticised FRELIMO for only fighting in Tete and not extending the struggle to Manica e Sofala, and they added: 'If FRELIMO wants to liberate only Tete, then we shall all go to Tete to save ourselves'. After receiving precise directives from FRELIMO, they created conditions for the start of armed struggle in their zone. These few examples demonstrate the adhesion of our people to the liberation struggle and explain the great success we are achieving.

The opening of military operations in Manica e Sofala was dramatically brought



to the knowledge of international opinion by the death of General Franco's personal doctor, Angel Garaizabal Bastos, last July, when the aircraft he was in landed south of Maringue in the Pungue region, and by our forces' repeated attacks on economic installations in Gorongoza region.

Our policy towards the civilian population remains the same — as civilians they are not targets for us. Our guns are aimed at the colonial war machine and the economic system which supports it. However, aircraft being the main weapons the enemy use against us — even tourist planes are used for reconnaissance — it is clear that our comrades cannot refrain from shooting them down on the grounds that «they may carry civilians». This explains the death of the Spanish doctor.

On the other hand, tourism is one of the colonial government's most important sources of foreign exchange.

Our objective, therefore, is to discourage tourism in Mozambique. This explains our recent attacks on tourist installations in Gorongoza Game Park. Our comrades were careful not to kill or wound any tourist — although they had plenty of opportunity to do so. These actions must be interpreted as warnings to those who believe in the Portuguese propaganda that there is no war in Mozambique, or that it is confined to the borders with Zambia or Tanzania. The days of the colonial «tropical paradise» belong to the past.

The same advice is also addressed to the foreign technicians who, motivated by high salaries, agree to work on projects which are to perpetuate colonial domination in our country, like Cahora Bassa, which we have defined as a strategic target since 1968. The military headquarters at Chitima, just 14 km. from Cahora bassa, has already been attacked. After issuing repeated warnings, we wish to state that we shall not hold ourselves responsible for the loss of civilian life in the war zones. Especially now that tourists and technicians and Portuguese soldiers are mingled together in the same buses, convoys and hotels. The dangers are great and those who enter these zones do so at their own risk.

In Niassa, our forces control most of the province and have paralysed enemy movements. However, the very small population in what is in effect one of the country's largest provinces limits the possibilities for extensive activities. During the period from August, 1972 to June, 1973, our fighters attacked 6 posts; destroyed 22 vehicles, 1 locomotive and 8 wagons; blew up 3 bridges; and killed more than 200 Portuguese soldiers.

increased repression

Now, as in the past, one of the enemy reactions to our progress is repression. Wiriyamu is just one case among hundreds. And the massacres are not only in Tete, but in all the provinces. It is true that in the past few years they have tended to be

more brutal in Tete; this is because colonialist and imperialist interests are greater and more extensive in this province, which also acts as a support base for the expansion of the war to other provinces.

This repressive activity of the colonialists has been constantly denounced by us. Recently, however, another voice has spoken out, the Church has denounced and condemned the Portuguese regime's atrocities in Mozambique. In 1971, the White Fathers congregation decided to leave Mozambique in protest against the repressive policies of Portuguese colonialism. This turned out to be the first of a series of denunciations and protests by priests, including bishops. Consequently, priests began to be the targets of persecution, and a number were arrested, accused of subversion and of supporting the liberation struggle.

TETE

50 posts attacked including:

Mwangzi
Mukaunda
Chicoo
Ucanha
Manje
Carinde
Oliveira
Mpewa
Canverere
Nhangoma
Taibo
Mponda
Chicoco
Nyakamba
Mocumbura
Furancungo
Fingoe
Malewera
Chiper
Kaphiridzanje
Tembue
Massamba
Dique
Vila Gamito
Chibuvu
Nyamadende

Enemy soldiers killed : 1403
Vehicles destroyed : 127
Aircraft destroyed : 26
Trains destroyed : 6
Bridges destroyed : 3
Warboats sunk : 11

Sunday Tel. (U.K.) Sept. 10, 1972

Mozambique expels priests

By BRUCE LOUDON in Lisbon

THREE Spanish priests of the Burgos order have been expelled from Mozambique by the Portuguese authorities. They are alleged to have been intimately involved in compiling the recent "massacre" reports in the territory.

Following their expulsion, it is thought that all the other members of the order in Mozambique may also be ordered to leave.

I understand that the three priests were rigorously searched after being detained by Portuguese security officials. The officials were concerned that they should not take any material with them for later distribution to British newspapers.

During a big round-up in mid-1972, when about 2000 people were arrested in Southern Mozambique, among them were the head of the Presbyterian Church and one of his colleagues. A few months later, the Portuguese announced that both had died in prison, the head of the Church having allegedly committed suicide. Two Spanish priests, Alfonso Valverde and Hernando Martin have been held in the Portuguese political prison of Machava in Mozambique since December 1971, accused of having denounced massacres by the Portuguese troops.

The infiltration of agents into our zones has been intensified over the past few months. Their specific tasks are to foment subversion in our ranks, to assassinate FRELIMO leaders, and to discredit our organisation in the eyes of the people. For example, they send groups of Africans dressed and armed like our fighters, who pretend to be FRELIMO soldiers, and massacre the people, violate the women and steal crops. All this in the name of FRELIMO. However, the sharp vigilance of our people and their knowledge of FRELIMO's correct political line thwarts such objectives. Many enemy agents have been arrested by the people themselves and taken to the FRELIMO bases.

the concentration camps

The tactic of «aldeamentos» (the so-called «protected villages») is aimed at isolating our fighters. The most recent information is that 56,000 villagers have been driven into concentration camps in Manica e Sofala, in the zones of Maringue, Canxixe, Chemba, Chiramba, Tambara and Mun-

gari. These are zones where we have recently increased our military operations. The tactic of aldeamentos has proved useless, as the people invariably escape from them at the first opportunity, or are liberated by FRELIMO forces.

Another manoeuvre used by the enemy is to promise and sometimes grant economic and social privileges to a few Africans, so that they have bonds of personal interest with the colonial regime. This tactic is part of a wider strategy which includes the promise of autonomy to the Portuguese colonies, and the so-called elections in Mozambique, Angola and Guiné. In order to gain credibility, the Portuguese included several Africans among their candidates. But these were men who had already been won over to the colonial cause by financial inducements. Moreover, the voting figures themselves — less than one per cent of the population, and this mainly settlers — show that the whole process was a farce. FRELIMO's position with regard to the elections was clearly expressed at the time: the Mozambican people do not want «autonomy» from Lisbon, they

NIASSA

6 posts attacked including:

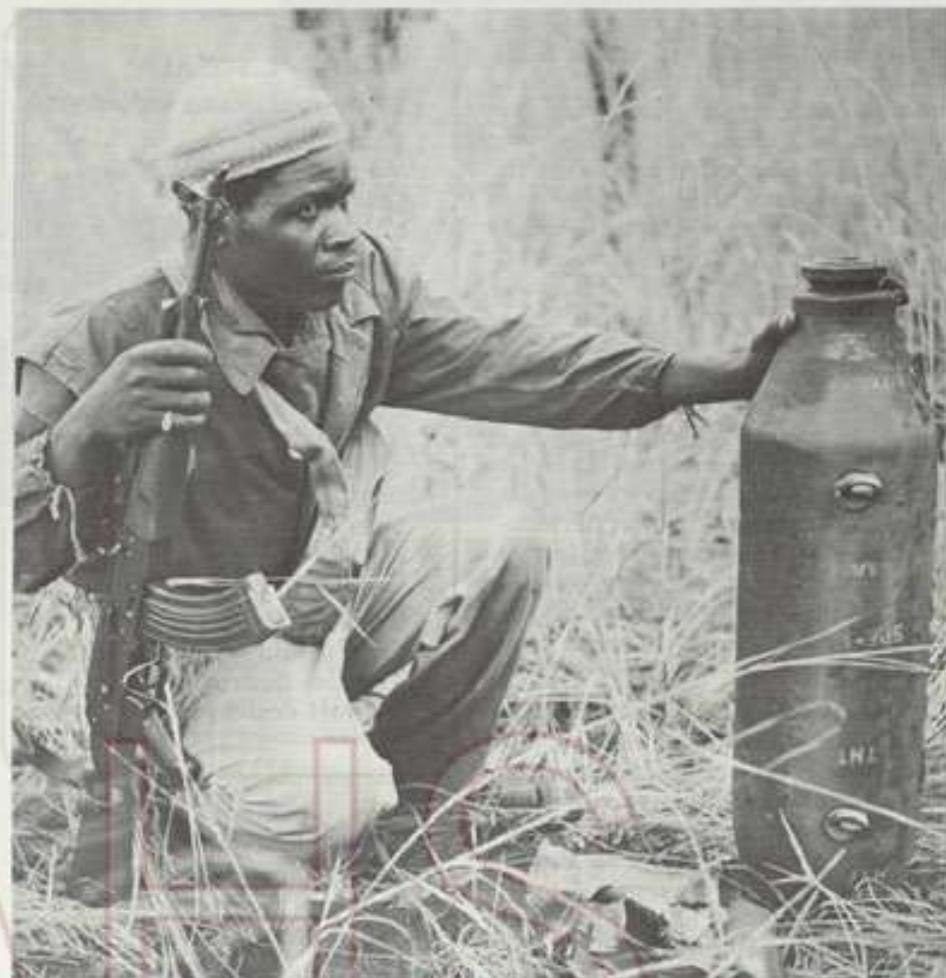
Maua
Nova Coimbra
Manhice
Quinas
Enemy soldiers killed : 200
Vehicles destroyed : 22
Trains destroyed : 1
Bridges destroyed : 3

want complete independence — the recognition of their personality as an African people, the possibility of governing themselves, of choosing their own leaders, and of establishing the political, economic and social system that best serves their interests.

Another form enemy reaction takes is to appeal to the forces of South Africa and Rhodesia to fight with them in Mozambique. Following the panic shown by Ian Smith in October last year and the meeting he held with Caetano, one could easily foresee the increased intervention of Rhodesians in Mozambique. In December 1972, the Minister of Defence prepared the ground for this by extending the period of military service. More recently, in August, a Rhodesian officer confirmed to a journalist from the Evening Standard that there was increased Rhodesian participation in Mozambique, amounting to at least one operational combat per day. It should be also remembered that the two Spanish priests already mentioned were handed over to the Portuguese authorities by the Rhodesians after trying to leave Mozambique through Rhodesia.

South Africa has devised a tactic to camouflage its direct involvement in Mozambique: it arranges for soldiers of the South African Defence Force to be recruited by the Rhodesian Light Infantry, and sends them to fight in Mozambique as Rhodesians. A similar method has been devised by the US to supply herbicides to Portugal, which are then used on a large scale in the colonial war. The method consists of classifying the products utilised by the American army in Vietnam as «civilian defoliants». Enormous quantities have been furnished to Portugal and South Africa in this way. It should be recalled that it was South African aeroplanes and pilots that launched herbicide spraying operations in Mozambique.

Support for Portuguese colonialism goes very much further to encompass all the imperialist countries. The British Government, seeking to justify the celebration of the 600th anniversary of the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance, stated that «Portugal is our ally in NATO, and it is our policy in that context to develop businesslike and friendly relations with the Portuguese government». Within this



context the British Government has been giving extensive support to the Portuguese government. The same applies to the US: in December 1971, 436 million dollars were given to Portugal, thereby buttressing the weak Portuguese economy.

role of imperialism

More recently, a few months ago the US provided Portugal with 12 helicopters, 8 of which are already in Mozambique. The French and West German governments are not lagging behind in their support for Portuguese colonialism. They furnish weapons, vehicles, aircraft and money without which Portugal would have been forced to give up the war. It is therefore becoming more and more evident that without the support of the western countries, particularly those in NATO, colonial Portugal would have been defeated long ago.

Parallel to this support for Portugal from international imperialism, there is today an increase in solidarity with our struggle. We are referring first of all to the African

US trains Lisbon's pilots

from BRUCE OUDRES

WASHINGTON, 11 August

THE PENTAGON has disclosed that for the past three years some Portuguese Air Force officers, mostly fighter pilots, have received training at United States bases in Germany. Some of them have been sent to fight in Portugal's colonial wars.

In addition to the 79 trained in Germany, 25 others have been trained in the US. The courses, apparently, last only a few weeks each. In one, for instance, Portuguese fighter pilots have learnt US techniques in flying combat support missions.

In the seven years ending in mid-1970, the US provided some training, all of it in America, for a total of only 27 Portuguese Air Force officers. Officials offer no firm explanation as to who authorised the recent increase.

and Socialist countries, whose aid, although insufficient to cover our needs has however kept pace with the development of the struggle. The solemn Declaration on General Policy adopted at the Summit Meeting of the OAU on its 10th anniversary clearly reveals an ever-growing commitment of Independent Africa at the side of those who are still fighting for their independence and freedom. The pledge of the African States to continue the struggle against colonial and racial domination in our continent; their recognition that armed struggle is the only means to liberate Africa and is one of the most important factors in consolidating the independence of Africa States; their pledge to provide full material and other assistance for national reconstruction programmes in the liberated areas of Guinea, Angola and Mozambique — are clear proof of this increased commitment.

But this support is not limited to the African and socialist countries. During the past few years, a strong current of solidarity has developed even in Western countries. In some countries this popular movement is so strong that it has already forced the respective governments to reconsider or at least to be more careful in their support for Portuguese, South African and Rhodesian colonialism. In almost all Western European countries there are committees of support for the liberation struggle in the Portuguese colonies. Last

MANICA E SOFALA

17 posts attacked including:

Massi
Mungari
Chivanza
Chiganda
Tuque
M'komacha
Nhamphassa
Nhantetete
Gatio
Inhamzonha
Missakulima
Chitengo
Buzua
Sossoto
Xaviera
Canxixe
Marinyanga

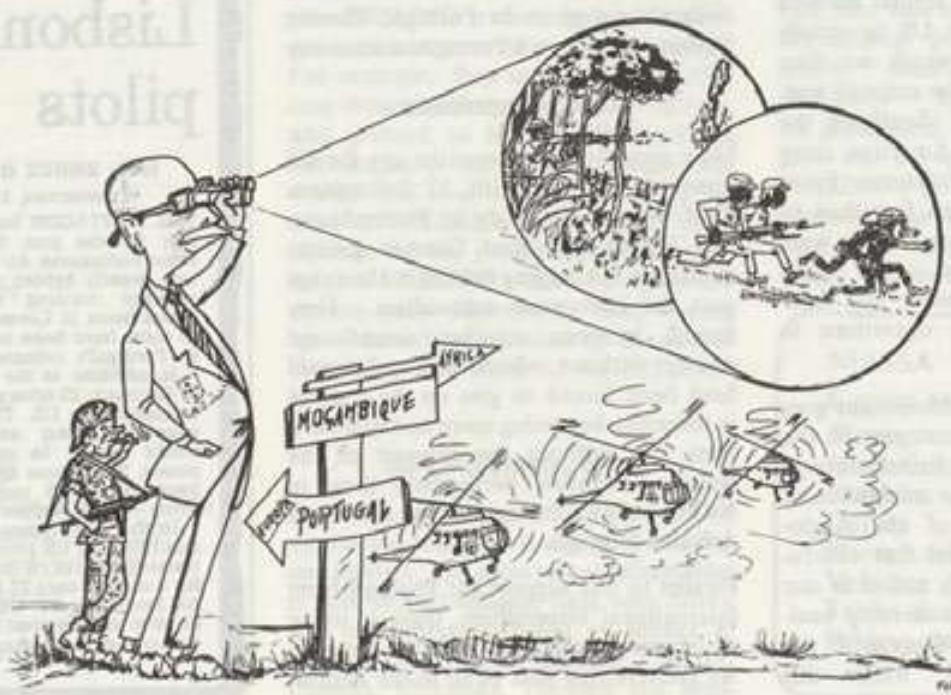
Enemy soldiers killed : 450
Vehicles destroyed : 110
Aircraft destroyed : 5

UN General Assembly in November, 1972 again condemned Portugal for its colonial policy and for its wars of aggression against the African peoples, declaring it to be a threat to international peace and security, and reaffirmed its recognition of the legitimacy of our liberation struggle. The Security Council, in a unanimous vote, urged Portugal to enter into negotiations with the true representatives of the peoples of the colonies. In Holland, the Dutch government has announced its decision to give unconditional support to the African Liberation Movements.

The important successes referred to reveal the extremely rapid rate of development of our struggle. As Comrade Samora Machel, the President of FRELIMO, stated in one of his messages to the Provincial Secretary of Cabo Delgado, «our people, more united than ever around FRELIMO, led by a revolutionary ideology, have increased their fighting capacity and have inflicted severe defeats on the colonialists. The flames of our war are devouring our enemies. Portuguese colonialism is also losing ground internationally. The colonialists are floundering from contradiction to contradiction, and like flies caught in a spider's web, the more they thrash about, the more hopelessly entangled they get. Nobody, nothing can now stop or slow down our march to freedom.»

March, a big national solidarity conference was held in Italy which was attended by almost all political forces in that country.

In April a UN and OAU sponsored conference in Oslo drew up a practical programme of combat against colonialism. A strong popular movement opposed the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance in Britain. The





WAR COMMUNIQUE

Tete

From April to August, 1973, in addition to the military operations already reported, FRELIMO fighters in Tete Province attacked 16 posts and camps, shot down a helicopter; sunk 5 war boats in the Zambezi River; destroyed 2 trains and derailed 20 wagons; and launched 90 ambush and sabotage operations. In all, over 400 enemy soldiers were killed, 1 bridge was blown up, and 36 vehicles were destroyed. We also captured weapons, ammunition and other material.

attacks

Camp of Chifesse, April 1: A FRELIMO infantry unit attacked the camp, killing 5 of the enemy.

Camp of Massamba, April 12: Seven Portuguese soldiers were killed and a number of houses were damaged.

Camp of Chimua, April 12: Our artillery attack resulted in 10 enemy killed and 2 houses destroyed.

Post of Dique, April 15: Twenty enemy soldiers were killed and 7 houses destroyed.

Post of Vila Gamito, April 20: Several buildings were destroyed and 11 soldiers killed.

Camp of Cagulura (in Manje), May 22:

Camp of Chithiri, July 1: 6 houses were

destroyed and 13 enemy soldiers killed.

Camp of Zangaia, July 8: 1 house destroyed and 4 enemy soldiers killed.

Camp of Chale, July 15: We killed 12 Portuguese soldiers and destroyed 4 houses.

Camp of Sachilire, July 20: 7 enemy soldiers killed, several barracks burnt and blankets, clothes, etc. captured.

Camp of Caunda, July 27: 9 enemy soldiers killed.

Camp of Chazia, August 10: 7 enemy soldiers killed and material such as a sewing machine, blankets, etc. captured.

Camp of Bandari, August 18: The whole garrison comprising black and white soldiers were killed, 5 Mauser rifles captured, and all the people imprisoned in the camp freed.

Concentration Camp of Nsungo, August 20: 3 enemy soldiers killed, 3 Mauser rifles, ammunition, grenades, 5 radios and military uniforms captured.

helicopter shot down

On May 22 a FRELIMO unit shot down a helicopter in the zone of the town of Tete. The helicopter crash-landed near the hospital.

boats sunk

On May 24, 2 boats carrying troops and supplies left the post of Mague, towards Cachomba. They were ambushed and sunk by our forces. All the soldiers in

the boats, numbering 20 were killed.

On June 15, a similar operation took place in the same zone: 3 boats were sunk and 18 soldiers were killed.

trains destroyed

July 10, on the railway line between Chiwedza — Doa we destroyed a train engine and derailed 20 wagons. 8 enemy soldiers were killed.

August 25, we destroyed a train going from Mutarara — Moatize.

bridge destroyed

The bridge spanning river Manjererevu, on the main road Tete — Furancungo, situated 3 kms. from the post of Baue, was blown up by a FRELIMO sabotage unit on April 24. The bridge was 30 meters long and 4 meters wide and supported by concrete pillars.

ambushes and sabotage

In many ambush and sabotage operations throughout Tete, FRELIMO fighters killed more than 270 enemy soldiers and destroyed 34 vehicles.

Cabo Delgado

Two major attacks were launched by FRELIMO forces in Cabo Delgado Province on July 11 and August 7, 1973.

On July 11 we attacked and assaulted the enemy post of Quissenge, destroying most of the buildings and killing many Portuguese soldiers. After neutralising the

enemy's resistance, we stormed the post and captured a number of arms and other material, namely:

- 5 rifles cal. 7.9; serial numbers 5044, 10002, 8059, 4987 and 4753.
- 1 automatic pistol No. 315022
- 14 wristwatches and a clock
- 2 radios
- 1 Portuguese flag
- documents, etc.

The Portuguese military centre of Mocimboa da Praia was attacked with heavy artillery fire on August 7. The attack began at 5.10 a.m. Many buildings were wiped out, including the power station.

At the same time as the attack on Mocimboa da Praia, the posts and strategic hamlets of Nkomangano, Mpanga and Nalande, which are close to and give protection to the town of Mocimboa da Praia, were also attacked.

In Nkomangano our forces destroyed most of the houses. In the assault which followed, we captured arms, radios and food. Sixty villagers imprisoned there were freed. Mpanga and Nalande were damaged, and the bridge linking these two posts was blown up.

Manica e Sofala

FRELIMO's military activities in Manica e Sofala have been extended and now cover 3 more zones - Inhaminga, Chirigoma (Mwanza) and Dondo.

During the period June to September, FRELIMO fighters in this Province shot down 5 airplanes and destroyed one on the ground; attacked 6 posts, encampments and concentration camps; and launched a number of ambush and sabotage operations. More than 100 enemy soldiers were killed and 10 made prisoner. 20 vehicles were destroyed and 8 damaged. Seven G-3 sub-machine guns, 28 Mauser rifles and a large quantity of ammunition were captured.

aircraft shot down

On July 16, FRELIMO fighters shot down one bomber aeroplane which had left Guru for Vila Gouveia. It crash-landed near the concentration camp of Nhassalara.

On August 2, our fighters in the area of Nhaunga, Macossa region shot down 2 bombers.

On August 3, we shot down a bomber in the area of Nhamikunga, Canxixe region.

On August 15, we shot down a cargo-transporter in the region of Tambara. At 9.00 a.m. on July 1, a FRELIMO unit attacked a plane in the zone of Nhamacala, of Chief Nhamchenwe. The enemy later announced that our attack on the aeroplane had caused several casualties, including the death of a Spanish doctor who was hunting in the area.

attacks

On July 17, our comrades attacked a tourist restaurant camp in Chitengo in Gorongoza National Park.

On July 22, we attacked the post of Buzua, damaging one house, destroying all the tents and killing several of the enemy.

Ten enemy soldiers, members of the so-called Portuguese Provincial Organisation of Volunteers, were captured and 3 were killed when we attacked and assaulted the concentration camp of Sossoto, in Chemba region. Our fighters captured 3 G3 sub-machine guns, 10 Mauser rifles and a large quantity of ammunition.

On August 31 our forces attacked a concentration camp in the Canxixe region. Eighteen enemy soldiers were killed, 3 G-3 sub-machine guns, 14 Mauser rifles and 3 crates of ammunition were captured.



ambushes and sabotage

Our ambushes were concentrated on the roads Chemba - Tambara; Senga (near the shop of Senhor Fole); Chiramba (place of a concentration camp); Tambarali; Vila Paiva de Andrade - camp of Vanduze; Bue Maira - Chitengo; Vila Paiva de Andrade - Maringue; Gorongosa - Mazambana (region of Inhaminga); Pangacha, Canxixe - Chimbawala, Tukuta; Canxixe - Sena, Bonzo - Chemba; and Chemba - Sena.

Two of these ambushes were of particular importance: one which took place on August 12 when our fighters ambushed a convoy of 5 lorries carrying cotton from Canxixe to Sena. After an explanation about the objectives of our struggle, the drivers were released and the 5 lorries burnt. The other operation took place on September 4 when we ambushed 3 lorries carrying cotton from Chemba to Sena. The drivers of these lorries were also set free after being explained about our struggle and the lorries and their contents burnt.

In these ambushes, 20 vehicles were destroyed, 8 were damaged, more than 50 Portuguese soldiers were killed and 5 weapons captured.

Niassa

Between April and June, 1973, FRELIMO combatants in the Province of Niassa increased their ambushes and sabotage operations especially in the districts of Mwembe, Metangula, Macalope, Maniamba and Vila Cabral.

From our comrades' attack we stress in particular the one against Machembe concentration camp on the main road to Vila Cabral on April 7. The concentration camp was left in flames and many enemy soldiers were killed.

Equally important was an attack against another concentration camp in Marrupsa, in which some G3 sub-machine guns were captured, the camp was destroyed and several enemy soldiers killed. Among them was a second lieutenant, the commander of the platoon.

Besides destroyed vehicles, sabotage actions resulted also in the complete destruction of the bridge over the river Ng'ongo in Metangula, on July 4.

apply our principles - and march to victory

The situation in Mozambique has long been concealed behind a curtain of colonialist lies. Today, because fighting is in progress in relatively developed areas in which imperialist interests are very great, so that foreign attention is focussed on these areas, Portugal is being forced, very much against its will, to reveal a part of the truth, albeit as little as possible and in a distorted form.

This attitude on the part of the enemy shows that the comrades have been able to define their targets, hitting the enemy's most sensitive spots. Someone who is hit full in the stomach is at least forced to groan, independent of his will. The colonialist's groans are beginning to make themselves heard.

The importance of the area, however, is mainly due to the already established or prospective imperialist interests there. At the same time the geographical position of the province makes it a natural route

of access to the south of our country and a buffer zone for the neighbouring racist regimes.

The area is therefore a zone of conflict between ourselves and imperialism, a strategic zone for the deployment of forces.

And this aggregation of factors, combined with the ever increasing failures of the Portuguese troops, who are unable to ensure the security of international roads and railways, unable to provide protection for continued imperialist economic exploitation, explains the recent measures taken with a view to intensifying international aggression against our people.

THE CONDITIONS FOR OUR VICTORY

If we are to win the battle which is now under way and to consolidate the victories so far achieved, we need to apply our principles creatively and unwaveringly.

Last August a very important meeting of cadres from Tete and Manica e Sofala provinces was held in Tete. The meeting was chaired by the President of FRELIMO, Comrade Samora Machel, accompanied by Comrade Joaquim Chissano. The general situation was analysed, the strategy reviewed for both provinces and some directives laid down or emphasised. Here we publish some excerpts from a message previously sent by the President of FRELIMO to the Political and Military Commander of Manica e Sofala.





'LET US
LIVE UP TO THE
HOPE AND TRUST THE
PEOPLE HAVE PLACED IN US'

1. Give importance to our unity. Understand that our sacrifices are absolutely futile without unity. Make unity live in practice. Unity becomes a living force through the sharing of experience and hardships, through discussion of our problems, criticism and self-criticism, collective study.

2. Know how constantly to win over new forces to our cause. FRELIMO accepts in its ranks, without discrimination, all Mozambicans regardless of race or colour who identify with our cause and are prepared to struggle against colonialism.

The action of capturing whites, educating them and then freeing them has filled us with pride, since it has shown that the comrades know who the enemy is and have given practical proof that our fight is against Portuguese colonialism and never against the Portuguese people.

3. Give importance to mobilising the people and heightening their consciousness. Constantly develop political and organisational work among the masses.

Distribute tasks to all sectors of the population, men, women, old people and children.

Understand that spears and arrows also kill the enemy. Arm the people and

organise the defence and protection of villages, granaries, agricultural plots and corrals. If the enemy come, they should not leave without suffering heavy punishment. Holes and trees on highways also block all traffic.

4. Constantly raise the political consciousness among the cadres and fighters, deepening understanding of who is the enemy and of the nature and brutality of the enemy, and making them fully aware of the meaning and scope of the fight we are waging.

To develop political consciousness it is important constantly to raise the level of scientific knowledge of cadres and militants and, above all, to organise literacy classes at every base, applying the principle of learning from each other.

An army that is ignorant and devoid of political consciousness faces inevitable defeat. For the fighters and cadres to assume their tasks and be able to make proper use of the increasingly complex weapons we have requires of them continuous ideological growth and increased scientific knowledge.

5. Raise the army's fighting capacity, so that every fighter can fight ten of the enemy.

Above:
our President
in Tete Province.

We will thus be able to disperse our forces more to avoid providing targets for the enemy. We will at the same time thrash and punish the enemy, destroying them while they are on the move.

Ensure constant training, continuous theoretical and practical education and flexible tactics, making everyone fully conversant with our strategy.

6. There can be no moments of idleness or relaxation. Our forces must be constantly engaged in political and physical combat against the enemy, political, scientific and military study, and production.

Idleness leads to relaxation, sooner or later bringing about ideological and material corruption accompanied by lack of discipline, anarchy, chaos and defeat.

We have won victories because comrades have selflessly given their lives for their people. When they died, they handed on to us the flag, so that we should carry it forward, to where millions of people are anxiously awaiting the arrival of the banner of freedom.

Let us be worthy of their sacrifices, let us live up to the hope and trust that the people have placed in us.»



Frelimo hails the Republic of Guiné -Bissau

COMRADE ARISTIDES PEREIRA, SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE PAIGC, COMRADE LUIS CABRAL, PRESIDENT OF THE STATE COUNCIL OF THE REPUBLIC OF GUINÉ-BISSAU. THE PROCLAMATION OF THE REPUBLIC OF GUINÉ-BISSAU IS A GREAT VICTORY OF THE BROTHER GUINE PEOPLE ENGAGED IN THE ARMED STRUGGLE AGAINST PORTUGUESE COLONIALISM AND IMPERIALISM, A VICTORY FOR THE PEOPLES OF MOZAMBIQUE, ANGOLA AND SÃO TOME E PRÍNCIPE AND OF ALL THE PEOPLES THROUGHOUT THE WORLD WHO ARE STRUGGLING FOR INDEPENDENCE AND FREEDOM.

IT IS A VICTORY OF THE IMMENSE SACRIFICES THE GUINEAN PEOPLE ARE MAKING AND WILL CONTINUE TO MAKE TO RECONQUER THEIR DIGNITY.

IN JUST OVER TEN YEARS OF HARSH AND DIFFICULT ARMED STRUGGLE AGAINST PORTUGUESE COLONIALISM SUPPORTED BY CERTAIN NATO COUNTRIES AND OTHER IMPERIALIST POWERS, THE GUINEAN PEOPLE, UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PAIGC, HAVE INFILCTED SEVERE DEFEATS ON THE PORTUGUESE COLONIAL ARMY, LIBERATING MORE THAN TWO-THIRDS OF GUINÉ-BISSAU.

FREE GUINÉ-BISSAU HAS BEEN BUILT IN THE LIBERATED AREAS. THE DECISION OF THE PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY OF GUINÉ-BISSAU THEREFORE CORRESPONDS TO THE PROGRESS ATTAINED BY THE ARMED STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION, WAS DICTATED BY THE INTERNAL REALITIES CREATED IN TEN YEARS OF ARMED STRUGGLE AND CORRESPONDS TO THE CONTROL EXERCISED BY THE PAIGC IN THE COUNTRY.

THE FRELIMO FIGHTERS AND LEADERS, AND THE MOZAMBICAN PEOPLE AS A WHOLE, WARMLY HAIL THE PAIGC, ITS MILITANTS AND LEADERSHIP, THE PEOPLE OF GUINÉ AND THE CABO VERDE ISLANDS, FOR THE PROCLAMATION OF THE REPUBLIC OF GUINÉ-BISSAU AND ASSURE THEM, AS ALWAYS, OF THEIR FULL SOLIDARITY AND FRIENDSHIP.

THE LINKS FORGED IN THE FRATERNAL COMBAT OF THE BROTHER PEOPLES OF ANGOLA, GUINÉ AND CABO VERDE, MOZAMBIQUE AND SÃO TOME E PRÍNCIPE, UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE MPLA, THE PAIGC, FRELIMO AND MLSTP, WILL DEFINITELY RECEIVE NEW STIMULUS AND BE STRENGTHENED WITH THE PRESENT VICTORY.

AT THIS HISTORIC TIME WHEN WE ARE CELEBRATING A GREAT VICTORY OVER PORTUGUESE COLONIALISM OF A BROTHER PARTY AND PEOPLE, FRELIMO, THE MOZAMBICAN PEOPLE, PAY TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY OF THAT GREAT COMRADE AND LEADER OF THE PAIGC, FIGHTER OF THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION, AMILCAR CABRAL.

LONG LIVE THE PAIGC, LONG LIVE THE REPUBLIC OF GUINÉ-BISSAU!
LONG LIVE THE FRIENDSHIP AND SOLIDARITY BETWEEN FRELIMO AND THE PAIGC, BETWEEN THE PEOPLES OF MOZAMBIQUE AND GUINÉ AND CABO VERDE!

THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES!

SAMORA MOISES MACHEL — PRESIDENT, FRELIMO

30 SEPTEMBER, 1973

AN ENDLESS STREAM OF FIGHTERS

The morning is still young when we continue our march. The high grass which will be dry and dusty around noon is wet from the cool night which has sent us to shivers. In front of us march the comrades who accompany us, and we have come to know them in the days we've been together. Everyone has his own horrible memories going back to the colonial past which is still present in the South of Moçambique. There are women at the way, children playing, caught by surprise while we are passing their huts. They come to wave, they come to sing, a traditional welcome melody, and they carry humble presents for the soldiers in front of us and for us to comfort the journey. How often did we experience that in the recent days in this Summer '73 in the liberated areas of Moçambique. It goes without words and it is one of the simplest examples of the firm unity between the people and FRELIMO who are one. This is one of the first and foremost

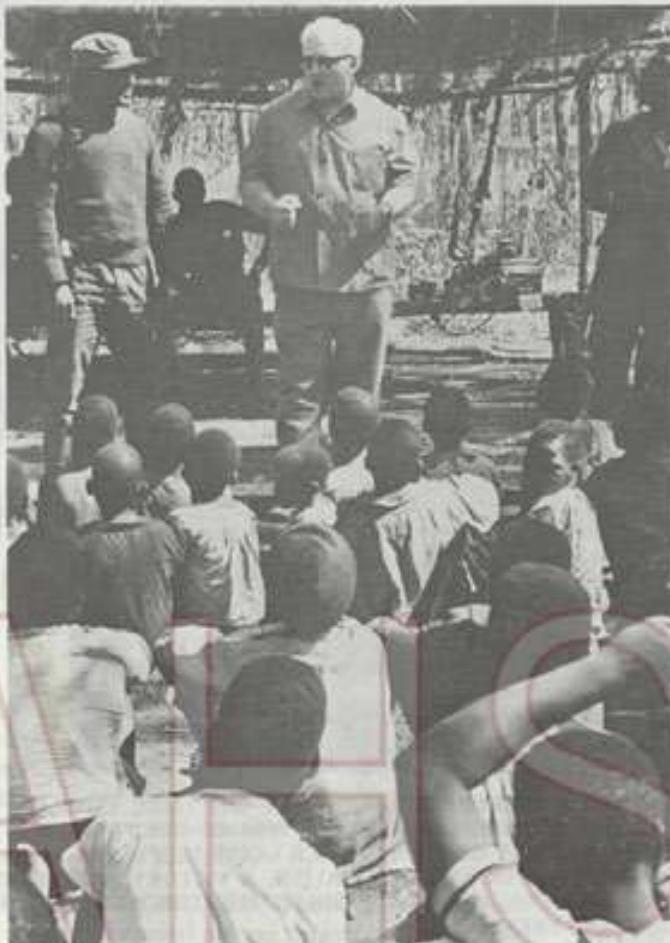
impressions during the first days later confirmed day by day.

The sky over Mulowe, the camp where we spend some days, is blue, bright sunshine in the valley and colouring the leaves of the trees on the steep hills with gold. Occasionally planes, Portuguese, South African, Rhodesian, searching for targets, searching for destruction.

Near the camp we meet a group of pupils, the CONTINUADORES as President Comrade Machel has called them, a term which contains all the love and care and the trust for the young generation. Mulowe is only three years liberated but already FRELIMO has set up a primary school here. Some of the pupils have a long way, you can meet them already two hours before school starts in the forests. They are sitting under the shadow of a grass-made roof and following intensively the lesson their teachers give. Their discipline is first class, the CON-

TINUADORES know why they are learning. There are many faces of colonialism. Here you can discover one of the many ugly faces: in the territories still occupied by Portugal there are only 2 per cent of people who can read and write. What an «achievement» after more than 400 years! So for the first time here under the shadow of the grass-made roof and with very simple means the people of Mulowe can learn. And there is a small hospital too set up. In the past 400 years everybody here with a serious ailment had to die. The hospital fits the first needs of the people, more serious cases are being treated in the district hospital.

We have seen the victims of this colonial war of genocide Portugal is waging against the people of Moçambique, and it reminded me very much of the crimes I had to report about when living in Indochina, committed by the US.



Three journalists and cameramen from the German Democratic Republic were guests of FRELIMO in Tete Province last August. They were comrades Ulrich Makosch, head of the delegation, Hans Andersohn and Detlev Steinberg.

This visit was aimed at collecting material for articles and a film, in order to explain more about the struggle in Mozambique to the people of the G.D.R. and other peoples of the world. The visit was thus another manifestation of solidarity between the G.D.R. and our movement and people.

Comrade Makosch wrote this article for "Mozambique Revolution".

*Comrade
Makosch
talking to
students in
a FRELIMO
school*

VISITORS IN FREE MOZAMBIQUE

The visit to an orphanage «AFRICA» in the province of Tete comes into my mind, 68 children, their parents lost, killed by Portugal, the troops against the children. If they got them they would have met the same fate as the people of Wiriyamu, but here they are under the care of FRELIMO. How is it with the Portuguese constitution which «treats black and whites alike in Moçambique», as one leading paper in the FRG writes it these days? Children and adults, everyone in this beautiful and rich country of Moçambique who dares to demand independence has only one fate: to die, to be killed to be tortured, to be a modern slave.

The words of Marcos Mabote, chief of operations, become alive: «We would have won independence already, if it was not for the support of the NATO countries for the regime in Lisbon.» We see the weapons used by Portugal and captured, made in the FRG, in US... Now they are being used by the people in the villages to defend themselves.

The march continues. We step to the side to let a long column of people pass. They are going to Manica e Sofala south of the Zambezi and carry weapons and ammunition, it seems to be an endless stream. A quick exchange of messages, of greetings, of information about the path behind them and behind us. Another stream: some hundred volunteers



A rest and a lesson.

coming from Manica e Sofala go down to the camp we have just left to receive their first training.

In the transistor we carry the voice of Ariaga, the man who is leaving Moçambique he came to conquer, after three years, as a loser. He gives his farewell speech, old stuff, losers of history.

We leave the country in firm belief of growing strength of FRELIMO which is

waging a successful offensive. We are deep in debt to you for the way in which you have arranged our march and journey, which we ourselves consider as a contribution towards the strengthening of the solidarity between the SED and FRELIMO in the interest of the struggle for national and social liberation, for peace and Socialism, in which we are firm at your side.

Tete, Summer, 1973.

ALGERIAN TELEVISION IN TETE



In August a team of 4 Algerian television journalists visited Tete Province with FRELIMO. The delegation, led by Mr. Sid Ali Hattabi, made a film during their trip, and later gave a Press Conference in Lusaka. At the Conference they denounced Portuguese atrocities in Mozambique and reported on their visit to bombed villages and testimonies they heard from civilians wounded in the raids.

VISITORS IN FREE MOZAMBIQUE



Marisa Musu meets some villagers.

My trip in the liberated province of Tete in the first fortnight of August was full of very interesting political experiences. It took place at a moment when world attention was concentrated on the affair of the Wiriyamu massacre. While Portugal was refusing entrance in Tete to foreign journalists and UN delegates and was expelling the only two English journalists who succeeded in arriving in the zone, FRELIMO opened me the doors of free Tete. While Portuguese autho-

rities and some (although fewer than usual) newspapers of capitalist countries were declaring that Tete was an «orderly and peaceful» region of the «Portuguese Overseas Province of Mozambique» where no massacre ever happened and no village called Wiriyamu existed, I was marching for days and days in liberated Tete, where there was not a shadow of Portuguese rule, and where I only saw the really orderly and peaceful administration of FRELIMO. I met, spoke and

took photographs of men, women and children who were direct eye-witnesses and survivors of massacres done by Portuguese soldiers, South African and Rhodesian soldiers in villages of the part of Tete still under the rule of colonialist Portugal. Furthermore, to demonstrate the lies of Portuguese propaganda I met in Tete Samora Machel, the President of FRELIMO, who was there with many other leaders of FRELIMO in one of his usual long trips in the free provinces. This is

the best proof that Portugal has no power over most of Tete.

Last year I had been inside another liberated province of Mozambique, Cabo Delgado. All that I saw in Tete this time about the organisation of the life of the population, schools, pilot centres, hospitals, nurseries, production, trade, transport, was for me only a confirmation of the deep links between the population and FRELIMO; of the capacity of FRELIMO to organise the population's life in order to assure for the first time in Mozambique's history (after colonialist rule), freedom from exploitation, from terror, from illness, from ignorance; of the will of the population to carry on to win the liberation war.

One teacher of a pilot centre pointing at a group of «continuadores» told me: «This is our reply to Wiriyamu.» I think this phrase can be the key-conclusion of my impressions about the trip inside Tete.



Exchange of ideas in Tete Province: From the left – Comrades Alberto Chipande and Joaquim Chissano with President Samora and Marisa Musu

VISITORS IN FREE MOZAMBIQUE

A team of West German film-makers visited Cabo Delgado Province with FRELIMO in June, 1973. The leader of the team was director, Gunter Peus, and with him were cameraman Wolfgang Kleist and sound technician Jan Kuenzler.

In a speech to the people in Mozambique, Mr. Peus said three things in particular had impressed him about the struggle. The first was the courage and resilience of the people in the face of the Portuguese bombing and the other forms of terror. The second was FRELIMO's discipline and strong organisation; the third was the high level of political consciousness of the fighters and the people.

The West German visitors were subjected to constant air bombardment by the enemy. This experience helped them to understand better the reality of our people's situation and Mr. Peus promised to denounce West German participation in the war on his return home. Among the planes in the bombing raids were Fiat G-91s, which were supplied by West Germany.



Round a campfire in Cabo Delgado are Gunter Peus, Jan Kuenzler and Wolfgang Kleist.

W. Germans witness bombing raids



British reporter meets Mozambican refugees from Smith's terror

David Martin, East Africa correspondent of Britain's "Observer" newspaper and the British Broadcasting Corporation, made a fast three-day visit to the Zumbo district of Tete with FRELIMO at the end of August.

Mr. Martin writes: «Refugees driven from their villages and shambas by Rhodesian ground troops, bombers, and helicopter gunships, described massacres being carried out by Rhodesian troops. One man had lost 14 children. The husband of an old woman had been decapitated. 15 people drawing water at a well died when it was bombed.

«FRELIMO's Tete Commander, Jose Moyane, told them a counter-offensive had been launched and soon they would be able to go home.

«The visit was all too brief, but even so long enough to understand the confidence and political clarity of FRELIMO and the fact that Portugal will not be able to hold Mozambique.»

As a result of the advance of our struggle, world opinion is now more conscious of the fascist nature of Portuguese colonialism. Unlike what has usually happened, the Wiriayamu massacre was widely denounced by the international press and aroused an unprecedented repugnance and condemnation of all sectors of world opinion. The fact is that the perpetration of massacres is inherent in colonialism. There has never been and nor will there ever be human colonialism, democratic colonialism, colonialism which respects the people's interests. Crime, barbarousness and savagery are an integral part of fascism. There has never been and nor will there ever be fascism without brutal exploitation of the workers, without torture and murder. Portuguese colonial-fascism commits the most barbarous and foul crimes because this is its nature. What is new is the fact that the true face of the Portuguese colonial regime has been so vigorously exposed to the world — a murderous face, a terrorist face.

Excerpt from the message of the President of FRELIMO, on the 25th September, 1973.

Wiriayamu: a case study of Portuguese repression

As we have pointed out several times, Portuguese reaction to FRELIMO activities against colonial troops is brutal retaliation against villagers. The massacre at Wiriayamu, which was reported earlier this year by missionaries, is a typical example of this. However, this particular massacre has unleashed a wave of worldwide condemnation of Portuguese colonialism. FRELIMO has done its own investigation into the massacre, in the area concerned, and we can now report the following details.

A few days before December 16, 1972, a plane which was flying from Beira to Tete was shot at and hit about 15 km. from Tete by FRELIMO militants. On board the plane, which managed to land safely, was a certain Portuguese VIP named Jorge Guerra.

The incident angered Guerra and he contacted the Directorate General of Security in Tete town to protest over the lack of security. The DGS informed him that their job was to fight subversion: it was the army's duty to prevent incidents such as this one.

Guerra then contacted the army and repeated his complaint. Because Guerra was an influential man, the army commander decided to take some action. This action was taken in collaboration with the DGS (or the PIDE, the secret police's former name, still widely used by its actual or potential victims).

First of all the Portuguese worked out where the shots that hit the plane had come from. This led them to the area which includes the villages of Gossinho,

Wiriayamu and Chawola. What happened then has been described by several local people who are now FRELIMO members.

Fernando Bero, who is 19, had been working on Cahora Bassa and returned to his home village, Gossinho, in December, for a holiday. He was told that his parents and his grandparents, who lived in nearby Wiriayamu, had been killed by Portuguese troops the Saturday before. «I was desperate to know how it happened», says Fernando.



Fernando Bero

The villagers told him a few days before the massacre a PIDE agent, an African called Chico, had arrived in Gossinho and asked the people if anyone had seen FRELIMO soldiers. Chico's visit was, in fact, the beginning of the Portuguese investigation into the shooting of Guerra's plane.

Fernando says: «Everybody told Chico they had never seen FRELIMO. He then went to Wiriaymu, asked the same questions and received the same answers.

Obviously he was not convinced and he returned to Tete to tell the authorities that Wiriaymu was a supply base for FRELIMO fighters.»

Next day, December 16, Chico returned with a large number of troops in lorries. They went to Gossinho and Wiriaymu, again asking if the people had seen FRELIMO, but this time using threats and intimidation. Again they were given no information. They left Wiriaymu and reached the main Beira - Tete road, where they were ambushed by a FRELIMO unit.

Fernando Antonio João, a FRELIMO fighter, was born in Wiriaymu and was operating near the village. He takes up the story. «Our forces ambushed two Berliet lorries loaded with soldiers. Many soldiers were killed and the lorries destroyed. The Portuguese sent reinforcements - a convoy of lorries. Some of these lorries took the dead and wounded to Tete. Others moved towards the village of Wiriaymu.»

Another FRELIMO militant, Carlos Meque Dinheiro - who as it happens had joined our organisation only the day before - says that the ambush took place near the village of Corneta, so some of the lorries headed for this village. Says Carlos: «They found nobody, as everybody had fled when they heard that the troops were arriving. The Portuguese burnt all the houses, granaries, everything, and headed for Wiriaymu.»

When the troops arrived at Wiriaymu they went directly to the small river from where the people draw water, leaving only three soldiers in the village itself. It was a Saturday and the people were drinking.

The three soldiers told them: «We are going to have a banje». Banje is a political meeting during which the Portuguese round up the villagers, telling them



Fernando João



Carlos Dinheiro

that FRELIMO are terrorists, very bad people who should be reported if seen.

The villagers were told to go and bring any of their friends and relatives who might be out in the bush, so that everyone could take part in the banje. Once everyone was present, the troops who had been at the river returned.

The troops had apparently called for air support on their way from the ambush to Wiriaymu because helicopters and two jets arrived on the scene at this point. Soldiers jumped out of the helicopters as the jets circled overhead for protection. Then the massacre began.

Says Carlos Dinheiro: «The soldiers who had come from the helicopters started lining up the people. The children were put in one line, the women in another, the men in another. Everybody was told to clap their hands. Then the troops

started shooting with machine guns against each line. Meanwhile those soldiers who had come from the river herded the survivors inside the houses and set fire to the houses, burning the people to death.»

Fernando Bero was told by the local people that almost all of the residents - about 100 - died, including his parents and grandparents. Fernando was also told that the Portuguese took one blind old man, called Filipe, into a helicopter and threw him out.

Fernando João: «Bombs or grenades were dropped into every single house from the air to make sure that nobody would escape. After this massacre the Portuguese went to Chawola, where the same thing happened. In the ensuing confusion, however, some people managed to escape and sought refuge in our base.»

'FRELIMO's objective, in its international campaign to explain the situation, has been to seek to ensure that those who support us and are active in denouncing and condemning Portuguese crimes do not simply confine their attention to this massacre spoken of by the priests, forgetting the root cause, that which makes it possible for massacres to happen, which is the Portuguese colonial system.'

Indeed, international action should not be seen in terms of 'appealing' to Portugal to end the massacres. International action should be directed towards providing more and more support for liberation struggle, for FRELIMO. This is the only way of putting an end to the massacres, by defeating Portuguese colonialism and establishing a popular regime in independent Mozambique.'

From FRELIMO's national bulletin "A Voz da Revolução"

The recent visit of a FRELIMO delegation to Federal Germany raised a lot of speculation. Many of those who knew the extent of West German military aid to colonial Portugal, both bilateral and through NATO, and its financial and human involvement in Cahora Bassa and other projects in the Portuguese colonies asked themselves if this visit could really mean a change in FRELIMO's position, that is, in FRELIMO's political line. Was FRELIMO on the point of making fundamental concessions in exchange for West German support? As a friend from the Republic of Guinea told us later, «We thought you were compromising your revolution by agreeing to negotiate with West Germany. We know their position on Africa and the liberation struggle, and that they would try to impose their views on you».

FRELIMO was aware of these problems, but decided to accept the SPD's invitation. This is in line with our policy of trying to win to our side all forces opposed to Portuguese colonialism and establish a basis of co-operation with them. There was a strong argument in favour of our visit. The latest Congress of the SPD held in April had adopted the following resolution:

«In their fight against colonialism and racism, the SPD is on the side of the nations of the Third World. For this reason, the Federal Government should assert its influence in Europe to a much greater extent than up to now in order to reduce the colonialistic positions still existing and to put through the sovereign right of the nations concerned. The colonialism still existing presents a considerable burden for the whole Western Alliance and it is incompatible with its principles.

We will therefore concede to the national liberation movements all our solidarity and our political and humanitarian support.»

Our visit took place from the 2nd to 8th August. The FRELIMO delegation was led by Comrade Marcelino dos Santos, Vice-President. The SPD delegation was led by Mr. Hans Jürgen Wischnewski, Chairman of the Commission for International Relations of the National Executive of the SPD.

At the beginning of the talks, the FRELIMO delegation explained the main ob-

jectives which had led to our accepting the SPD invitation:

1. Ending arms supplies to Portugal by NATO countries and other countries.
2. Ending other forms of support for Portuguese colonialism, namely investments in the colonies.
3. The establishment of friendly relations between the peoples of the Federal Republic of Germany and Mozambique.

Mr. Hans Jürgen Wischnewski summed up the SPD's position on this matter as follows:

1. The SPD is opposed to all colonialist and racist policies.
2. The SPD is against arms supplies to Portugal.
3. The SPD considers that colonialism is incompatible with the principles of the NATO Alliance.
4. The SPD is ready to give humanitarian assistance to FRELIMO.

In a further phase of the discussions, the FRELIMO delegation asked that the SPD, consistent with its declared principles, should:

- a) Force the West German government to stop its arms supplies and other forms of military assistance to the Portuguese colonial government.
- b) Do everything in its power to force the West German companies which have investments in the colonies, especially in

FRELIMO and West Germany's SPD

No grounds for cooperation



Cahora Bassa, to withdraw.

c) Put whatever support the SPD is willing to give FRELIMO on a political and not on a humanitarian basis.

We explained our requests. There is irrefutable evidence that the West German government is continuing to give military support to Portugal. A large proportion of financial and technical participation in Cahora Bassa is from West Germany. Cahora Bassa, we explained, is a scheme aimed at creating conditions for the establishment in Mozambique of hundreds of thousands of white settlers, who would act as a force against the liberation struggle. Cahora Bassa has been condemned by the UN, by the OAU, by the World Council of Churches and indeed by all progressive forces in the world. Support for Cahora Bassa is therefore an act of hostility against the Mozambican people, and precludes any possibility of our establishing friendly relations.

Support for FRELIMO should be based on acceptance by the SPD that FRELIMO is right in its fight against Portuguese colonialism, that colonialism must be eradicated from Mozambique, and that therefore this support should not be conditional and «humanitarian» but global, political, as is already the case with other Social Democratic Parties in Europe and also with the Dutch Government, whose Minister for Development Aid, Mr. Pronk,

stated on July 2nd, 1973: "The Dutch Government is going to give support to the liberation movements because it wants to speed up the process of decolonisation in the territories occupied by Portugal, and not for «humanitarian reasons»."

The SPD rejected the FRELIMO requests. It refused to commit itself to a move to stop military supplies to Portugal (it must be recalled that the SPD is the ruling party in the FRG). On the Cahora Bassa issue, it stated that this project will be useful to independent Mozambique, and that it would not do anything to force West German companies to withdraw. It insisted that its support should be confined to giving FRELIMO «humanitarian aid».

The SPD position on Cahora Bassa is particularly serious since it shows great contempt for our personality and sovereignty. The SPD wants to teach us, the Mozambican people, what is good for us.

The FRELIMO delegation returned, having found out that at this stage, at least, there are no grounds for co-operation with the SPD. The SPD does not in fact live up to its anti-colonial statements. Moreover, it is FRELIMO's position that we cannot establish relations with any organisation except on a correct political and moral basis.



The W. German people express their solidarity with the peoples of the Portuguese colonies.

W. German firm helps Portugal build planes

Zurich, Wednesday.
PORTUGAL is building its first aircraft factory with help from a West German firm whose planes formed the nucleus of Hitler's air force in World War II, according to a newspaper report here.

The "Neue Zürcher Zeitung" said that the factory, which is being built at Beja, will provide employment to more than 1,000 workers and cost about 200 million escudos (60 million/-).

The West German firm, Messerschmitt Werke, will render financial and technical assistance, the paper said.

Messerschmitt's past intimate association with fascist militarism — its fighter planes played an important part in Hitler's attempt at world conquest — suggests that the project is connected with production of military rather than civilian aircraft.

The report is the second major embarrassment for Chancellor Willy Brandt's Social Democratic Party in recent weeks, following SPD's unsuccessful attempt to persuade Frelimo to accept its aid. The first was the Pentagon's disclosure in August that for the past three years Portuguese fighter pilots have been receiving training at US bases in West Germany.

The factory project and the pilot training facilities are examples of the kind of West German support for Portuguese fascism that influenced Frelimo's decision to reject SPD aid. Mr. Brandt's party said it did not approve of such support but it would not commit itself to forcing the government to end it.

DAILY NEWS, Thursday,
October 4, 1973.

FRELIMO AT THE YOUTH FESTIVALS



Tunisian and Mozambican youth march together at the Festival.

TUNIS

The Festival in Tunis was attended by more than 4,500 youths representing 38 African countries. Its importance lies in the fact that so many young people from different parts of Africa showed such strong unity on a progressive basis — they were unanimous in their condemnation of colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism and in upholding the construction of a progressive society, as expressed in their support for the liberation movements, for the struggle of the Independent countries to regain control of their national wealth, for the development of a national economy and culture and for the struggle for women's emancipation.



The FRELIMO stand in Tunis.

A hundred young FRELIMO militants coming from all Provinces of Mozambique and engaged in all sectors of activity — cadres, fighters, pupils, teachers, nurses, photographers, etc. — played an active and enthusiastic part in two important international events in July and August. The first, which was held in Tunis from 15 to 22 July, was the First Pan African Youth Festival; the second, the Tenth World Festival of Youth and Students, took place in Berlin from July 28 to August 5.



BERLIN

One of the central themes of the Berlin Youth Festival, which was attended by 25,000 youths plus 500,000 youths from the G.D.R., was "Youth Condemns Imperialism". The delegations from Mozambique, Vietnam, the Soviet Union, France, Chile, Japan and the U.S. presented reports on the crimes committed by imperialism — massacres, wars of aggression, the militarist and fascist regimes which it sets up and protects, subversive activities against popular regimes, the creation of centres

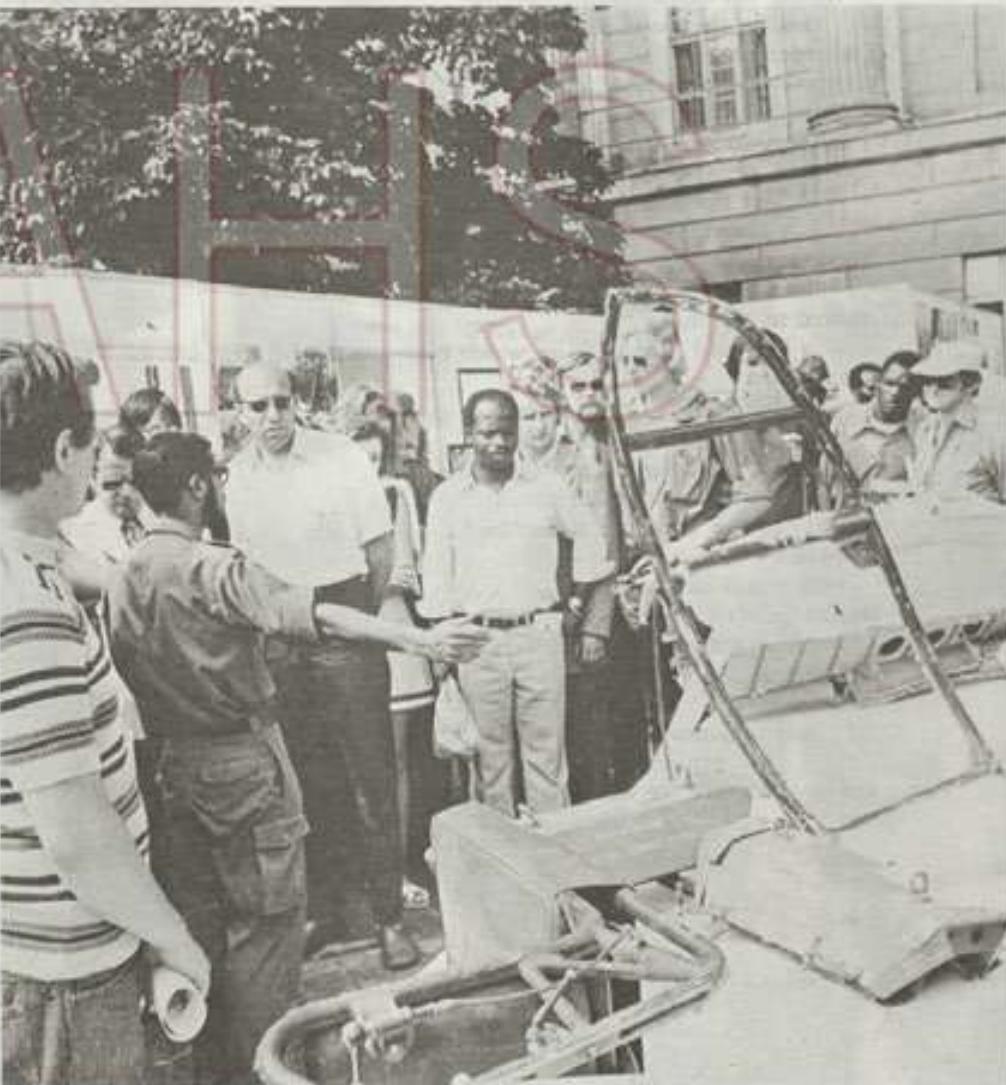
of tension through military bases, brutal exploitation of the working class etc.

FRELIMO, the MPLA and the PAIGC held a large exhibition, again on the theme "The People of Mozambique, Angola and Guiné and Cape Verde accuse Imperialism". Our three delegations showed photos, sculptures and films. The inscriptions on the captured weapons and on the wreckage of planes shot down by our fighters provided clear evidence of the imperialist participation in our wars, as well as our people's success in the liberation fight.

Our aim in participating in these Festivals was first of all to express the Mozambican people's solidarity with the struggle of other oppressed peoples of Africa and the world. Also to reaffirm our total involvement in the common struggle of World Youth for freedom from colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism, and to express our conviction of the need to reinforce this front. We also wished to exchange experiences — to learn from other people's revolutions and to put at their disposal the experiences we have gained in the fields of armed struggle and in building a new society.

The FRELIMO Youth Delegation participated essentially in the following activities:

- active participation in forums, seminars, symposiums and solidarity meetings;
- exhibitions of photos, paintings, cartoons and captured weapons;
- presentation of dance troupe;
- bilateral meetings with other delegations.



Visitors to our display in Berlin see the wreckage of a Fiat G-91 aircraft shot down by FRELIMO.

poem

To the Political Commissars, sowers of the Revolution.

and comrades came
 who spoke with strong voices
 stronger than all the words
 which we ignored
the words struck sparks
 and we were the powder
the words explained the burden of the company
 and the company bent our backs
the words were like whips
 flaying our blindness
 and in the words we understood.
Comrades came
 who spoke patiently
 with more patience than all our mothers.
They brought conduct and words like seeds
 and we were the land
 and the bosses
 were the rain that makes the hatred grow.
The examples, the words,
 like lights in the night
showed us the way
 a long and hard path on which many would fall,
but nothing
 is so long as the contract
 nor as hard as the mine
 while the hunger for cotton
has condemned us to death already.
 In the words we understood.
Comrades came
 with words like grenades,
leaving splinters of ideas in our minds
 breaking walls of ignorance
and patient
 and strong
 and constant
 they explained
and in the words we discovered the truth.







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